

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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O R 291938Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8515
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1900

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV WA SF
SUBJ: NAMIBIA: MCHENRY MEETS WITH HAMUTENYA AND GEINGOB

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET WITH SWAPO OFFICIALS HAMUTENYA AND GEINGOB IN LUSAKA MAY 29. THEY TOLD HIM THAT CASSINGA RAID WAS HAVING A SIGNIFICANT EMOTIONAL EFFECT ON SWAPO AND PLACING NUJOMA UNDER GREAT PRESSURE FROM THOSE ADVOCATING A MILITARY SOLUTION. WHILE THE TWO APPEARED TO SUPPORT CONTINUED WESTERN EFFORTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, THEY EMPHASIZED NEED FOR POSITIVE STEPS BY SOUTH AFRICA SUCH AS THE RELEASE OF RECENTLY ARRESTED POLITICAL DETAINEES. HOWEVER, THEY FELT THAT THERE WAS NO
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CHANCE OF SWAPO'S RESUMING DISCUSSIONS FOR TWO TO THREE WEEKS.
END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET MAY 29 IN LUSAKA WITH HAGE GEINGOB, DIRECTOR OF THE UN INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA, AND HIDIPO HAMUTENYA, MEMBER OF THE SWAPO NEGOTIATING TEAM AND INSTITUTE OFFICIAL. MCHENRY BRIEFED GEINGOB AND HAMUTENYA ON THE PURPOSE OF HIS TRIP

AND ON THE RESULTS OF HIS VISITS TO NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA.
HE STRESSED THE URGENT NEED TO GET DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE FIVE
AND SWAPO UNDERWAY AGAIN.

3. BOTH GEINGOB AND HAMUTENYA WERE RECEPTIVE TO THE NEED TO RESUME
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE. HAMUTENYA, WHO IN OUR PREVIOUS
CONTACTS WITH HIM HAS BEEN A DOCTRINAIRE HARDLINER, WAS FORTH-
COMING AND CONSTRUCTIVE. THE TWO SWAPO OFFICIALS SAID THAT IN THE
WAKE OF THE CASSINGA RAID NUJOMA HAD COME UNDER TREMENDOUS
PRESSURE FROM THE "MEN WHO ARE CARRYING THE GUNS" (A LIKELY
REFERENCE TO PLAN, THE SWAPO MILITARY WING) AND OTHERS WHO ARE
ARGUING FOR A MILITARY SOLUTION. THE SWAPO PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS
IN NEW YORK IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE RAID TO THE EFFECT THAT HE
PLANNED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE WERE PARTICULARLY
RESENTED. GEINGOB SAID THAT EMOTIONS ARE RUNNING SO HIGH IN SWAPO
THAT STUDENTS AT THE INSTITUTE ARE BOYCOTTING CLASSES ON FRENCH
CULTURE TAUGHT BY A FRENCH INSTRUCTOR BECAUSE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
USE OF FRENCH-BUILT AIRCRAFT IN THE MAY 4 ATTACKS. BASED UPON
WHAT HE HAS HEARD FROM FELLOW SWAPO MEMBERS IN LUANDA, FROM
WHERE HE RECENTLY RETURNED, GEINGOB SAID HE BELIEVED THERE WAS
LITTLE PURPOSE IN THE FIVE'S TRYING TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS WITH
SWAPO IN THE NEXT TWO TO THREE WEEKS.

4. WHAT GEINGOB AND HAMUTENYA FEEL IS NEEDED NOW--THEY ALMOST
PLEADED FOR IT--IS SOME POSITIVE GESTURE BY SOUTH AFRICA TO WHICH
THEY COULD POINT IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES AS A
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REASON FOR SWAPO'S CONTINUING TO FOLLOW THE NEGOTIATING TRACK.
AS AN EXAMPLE, THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE SAG MIGHT RELEASE THE
"MOST RECENT" SWAPO DETAINEES ARRESTED IN NAMIBIA UNDER THE
ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL'S RECENT SECURITY DECREE (AG-26).

5. MCHENRY SAID THAT WHILE HE COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE CASSINGA
RAID HAD REINFORCED SWAPO'S DISTRUST OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS, IT
WAS ESSENTIAL TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. HE THEN DISCUSSED
WITH HAMUTENYA AND GEINGOB THE KEY REMAINING POINTS OF SWAPO
CONCERN, EXPLAINING IN DETAIL WHY WE BELIEVED THAT OUR PROPOSAL
WAS FAIR AND HOW SWAPO'S INTERESTS WOULD BE PROTECTED. ON WALVIS
BAY, HAMUTENYA AND GEINGOB INDICATED THAT A WORKABLE FORMULA
COULD BE ARRIED AT. THEY WOULD LIKE THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE THE
LEAD (THEY ASSUME THAT THE OTHER FOUR WILL FOLLOW) AND WOULD
PREFER A UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OVER A STATEMENT. THE
TWO DID NOT REAISE ANY SERIOUS OBJECTION OF THEIR OWN TO MCHENRY'S
EXPLANATION OF THE PROPOSAL'S TREATMENT OF UN FORCE LEVELS, BUT
THEY SAID THAT A CONCRETE FIGURE WOULD BE OF CONSIDERABLE HELP
IN DISCUSSING THIS ISSUE WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES.

6. GEINGOB AND HAMUTENYA SAID THAT NUJOMA WAS STILL IN ANGOLA,
ALTHOUGH THEY SEEMED TO THINK THAT HE MIGHT SHORTLY BE COMING TO

LUSAKA. GEINGOB EXPLAINED THAT COMMUNICATIONS WITH LUANDA WERE POOR, SO THEY WERE NOT CERTAIN.

7. GEINGOB STATED THAT CASSINGA WAS NOT A MILITARY BASE BUT WAS A TRANSIT CAMP/RECEPTION CENTER FOR NAMIBIANS LEAVING THEIR HOMELAND TO JOIN SWAPO. HE HAD, IN FACT, BEEN PLANNING TO VISIT THERE TO ADMINISTER EXAMINATIONS TO APPLICANTS TO THE INSTITUTE. HAMUTENYA SAID THAT SWAPO IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN MOVING APPROXIMATELY 9,000 PEOPLE IN ANGOLA TO NEW LOCATIONS. THEY INCLUDE SOME 4,090 FROM CASSINGA AND OTHERS FROM A LARGE CAMP 70 MILES FROM CASSINGA WHICH WAS OVERFLOWN (BUT NOT ATTACKED) BY SADF MIRAGE JETS ON THE DAY OF THE RAID. THIS MOVEMENT OF PERSONNEL, HE SAID, IS AN ADDITIONAL, IF TEMPORARY, IMPEDIMENT TO SWAPO'S RESUMING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE.
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8. FOR USUN, ACTION REQUESTED: IN ORDER TO PROVIDE HAMUTENYA AND GEINGOB WITH INFORMATION ON THE NATURE OF UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS--USEFUL FOR THEM AS WELL AS IN THEIR OWN CONTACT WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES--PLEASE SEND BY IMMEDIATE CABLE TO LUSAKA TEXTS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 425 AND 426 (ON LEBANON) AS WELL AS TEXT OF REPORT OF SYG APPROVED BY RES. 426.

9. COMMENT: WE WERE STRUCK BY THE STRONG INTEREST HAMUTENYA SHOWED IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. CLEARLY, HE WILL ONLY SUPPORT AN AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIDES SWAPO WITH A FAIR CHANCE IN ELECTIONS AND WHICH DOES NOT EXPOSE IT TO PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION BY THE SAG, BUT HE APPEARS EAGER FOR SWAPO TO PURSUE THE NEGOTIATING TRACK IF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE MAKES IT POSSIBLE. (AT ONE POINT, HE COMMENTED THAT HIS "HANDS HAD BEEN TIED" BY THE CASSINGA RAID AND ITS AFTERMATH.) END COMMENT. LOW

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